

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 HA-05 NSCE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 SS-15 L-03 SP-02

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1816

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4148

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SAG PARTICIPATION IN SECURITY COUNCIL

DEBATE ON WALVIS BAY

REF: STATE 183339, PRETORIA 4099 (NOTAL), PRETORIA 4100 (NOTAL),

USUN 2953

1. AS INDICATED BY SA MINISTER RETIEF (STATE 183339) AND BY THE  
AUTHORITATIVE "CITIZEN" (PRETORIA 4099), THE SAG WILL ALMOST  
CERTAINLY WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S  
DELIBERATIONS ON A RESOLUTION REGARDING WALVIS BAY, WHICH THE  
SOUTH AFRICANS CONSIDER TO BE UNCHALLENGEABLY THEIR SOVEREIGN  
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TERRITORY. WE THINK IT LIKELY BOTHA WILL PLAN TO BE IN NEW YORK  
READY TO TAKE PART IN SUCH DELIBERATIONS AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE.  
IN ANY EVENT, HE WILL PROBABLY WANT TO BE PRESENT TO FOLLOW AT  
CLOSE HAND THE PROGRESS OF THE NAMIBIA PROPOSAL ITSELF IN THE  
COUNCIL. THE "CITIZEN" ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY AIDA PARKER,  
ASSERTED THE SAG WOULD NOT SEEK TO PARTICIPATE IN THE COUNCIL'S  
CONSIDERATION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ITSELF "IF IT IS A

STRAIGHTFORWARD DEBATE" ON THAT PROPOSAL.

2. WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE NAMIBIA PROPOSAL AND WALVIS BAY EXPECTED SHORTLY, BOTHA IS NO DOUBT INCREASINGLY CONCERNED (AS REFLECTED IN RETIEF'S CALL ON AF/S JULY 18) TO BE INFORMED ON THE SCHEDULE AND THE ANTICIPATED MANNER OF HANDLING WALVIS BAY IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER AND WHEN HE SHOULD PROCEED TO NEW YORK AND TO PREPARE THE SAG POSITION IN CONSULTATION WITH VORSTER BEFOREHAND. BOTHA, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE TO GO ON TO NEW YORK INADEQUATELY INFORMED AND PREPARED FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW. WE AGREE WITH THE NEW YORK CONTACT GROUP THAT DISCUSSION WITH SAG OF SECURITY COUNCIL TIMETABLE WE ENVISAGE SHOULD AWAIT VORSTER REACTION TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MESSAGES AND CONFIRMATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL SCHEDULE. WHILE IT IS DESIRABLE TO INFORM THE SAG AS MUCH IN ADVANCE AS POSSIBLE, OUR PAST EXPERIENCE INDICATES THAT DISCUSSING THE MATTER IN PRETORIA ON THE BASIS OF OUR CURRENT PLANNING, ONLY TO HAVE THE SCHEDULE CHANGE, WOULD HAVE A DISTRACTING NEGATIVE IMPACT, WITH THE SAG ACCUSING THE FIVE OF ONCE AGAIN ALLOWING SWAPO TO CALL THE TUNE. WE RECOGNIZE THIS MAY REQUIRE US TO REFRAIN FROM DISCUSSING TENTATIVE SECURITY COUNCIL SCHEDULING UNTIL THE VERY LAST MINUTE. WE SHOULD NEVERTHELESS RELY IN THE INTERIM ON KEEPING EKSTEEN ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS TO THE EXTENT FEASIBLE AND PRUDENT. IF WE SHOULD DETERMINE IT NECESSARY TO SAY SOMETHING HERE BEFORE THE SCHEDULE IS IN FACT FIXED, IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO LIMIT OURSELVES TO ASSURING THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT WE ARE SEEKING AN EARLY  
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MEETING AND WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP EKSTEEN ADVISED.

3. THERE ARE SOME ADVANTAGES TO HAVING BOTHA PRESENT IN NEW YORK DURING THE COUNCIL DEBATE, BUT HIS PARTICIPATION IN SESSIONS ON WALVIS BAY COULD INJECT NEW PROBLEMS AND UNCERTAINTIES. WHILE HE MIGHT SURPRISE US BY ADOPTING A MODERATE, REASONED APPROACH, WE BELIEVE IT PROBABLE BOTHA WOULD GIVE IN TO THE TEMPTATION TO MAKE DRAMATIC GRANDSTAND USE OF THE OCCASION. NUJOMA AND HIS SUPPORTERS WOULD SURELY RESPOND IN KIND. DEBATE COULD BECOME QUITE ACRIMONIOUS AND THE NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT PLAN COULD CONCEIVABLY BE ENDANGERED. MAINTAINING CONTROL OF THE PROCESS MIGHT WELL BECOME EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT FOR THE FIVE.

4. WE PRESUME THE AFRICANS, SOVIETS AND OTHERS WILL, PERHPAS QUITE VIGOROUSLY, SEEK TO PREVENT SAG PARTICIPATION. ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD WISH TO AVOID CAUSING THE WESTERN INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA TO FOUNDER OVER WALVIS BAY, THERE IS A HIGH RISK THAT THAT WOULD BE THE CONSEQUENCE IF THE SAG WERE BARRED FROM SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE ISSUE.

5. SINCE THE FIVE ARE NOT TAKING A POSITION ON THE LEGITIMACY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION WITH RESPECT TO WALVIS BAY, THEY

CANNOT ARGUE FOR OR AGAINST SAG PARTICIPATION ON THE GROUNDS OF THE EXISTENCE OR ABSENCE OF A LEGAL SOUTH AFRICAN CLAIM TO THE ENCLAVE. THERE IS HOWEVER, A SOUND PRAGMATIC BASIS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION: REGARDLESS OF THE LEGALITIES OF THE SITUATION, SOUTH AFRICA EXERCISES DE FACTO CONTROL OF WALVIS BAY; RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE REQUIRES SOUTH AFRICAN COOPERATION; AND THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION ITSELF RECOGNIZES THOSE REALITIES.

6. WHILE IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE PREFERABLE NOT TO HAVE TO TAKE A POSITION REGARDING THE SOUTH AFRICANS' RIGHT TO BE HEARD ON THE MATTER OF WALVIS BAY, WE DOUBT THAT WE COULD PERSUADE THEM NOT TO SEEK A HEARING, EVENTHOUGH SUCH PARTICIPATION WOULD GAIN THEM LITTLE. IT IS LIKELY THAT ANY EFFORT TO DISSUADE THEM FROM

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TAKING PART WOULD BE SEEN AS A FURTHER EXAMPLE OF DOUBLE STANDARDS, OF BACKING SWAPO AGAINST WHAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS REGARD AS THEIR RIGHT. INDEED THERE IS A DANGER THAT SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD ONLY REINFORCE THEIR DETERMINATION TO EXERT THEIR RIGHT. A NEUTRAL STANCE BY THE FIVE WOULD BE TAKEN AS CONCURRENCE IN THE SAG'S EXCLUSION WITH THE DANGERS SUCH RESULT WOULD ENTAIL.

7. WE THEREFORE SEE NO ALTERNATIVE FOR THE FIVE BUT TO ENDORSE A SAG REQUEST TO BE HEARD ON WALVIS BAY, IF SUCH REQUEST IS MADE. WE RECOGNIZE THE COMPLICATIONS THIS COULD CAUSE US WITH THE AFRICAN STATES WHICH HAVE SUPPORTED THE WESTERN INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA. THE FIVE WILL HAVE TO APPEAL TO THE SELF-RESTRAINT AND SENSE OF REALISM OF THOSE STATES, MAKING QUITE CLEAR WE ENDORSE A SAG REQUEST OR DEMAND TO BE PRESENT AND PARTICIPATE BECUASE, QUITE APART FROM THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE MATTER, IT IS A PRACTICAL NECESSITY IF THE PROCESS OF MOVING NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENCE IS TO BE CARRIED TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AND THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY PEACEFULLY, EXPEDITIOUSLY AND EQUITABLY RESOLVED.

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